

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

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R 151402Z NOV 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6796

INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

CINCEUR

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USNATO 3603

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 16457

CINCEUR FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: XGDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, UR,

SUBJECT: SCHEEL AND GENSCHER VISIT TO THE USSR

REF: BONN 18676

1. SUMMARY. FRG EMBASSY READOUT ON SCHEEL/GENSCHER VISIT CONFIRMS
(REFTEL) IMPRESSION WITH MORE DETAIL. VISIT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN
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MODEST SUCCESS BOTH SIDES HOPED FOR AND WORKED TO ACHIEVE. SOVIET

LEADERS STRESSED CONTINUITY LONG-TERM NATURE OF SOVIET-FRG RELATIONS. THEY EXPRESSED INTENTION TO RATIFY CURRENT SOVIET DETENTE POLICY TOWARD WESTERN EUROPE AT 25TH CONGRESS. THEY WERE UNRESPONSIVE, BUT NON-POLEMICAL, ON BILATERAL, BERLIN AND POST-CSCE EUROPEAN ISSUES RAISED BY FRG, THOUGH BOTH BREZHNEV AND GROMYKO COMPLAINED OF ANTI-SOVIET DEMONSTRATIONS IN WEST GERMANY. GERMANS, FOR THEIR PART, RAISED, BUT DID NOT INSIST ON SAME POINTS MADE BY GISCARD REGARDING NEED TO TONE DOWN IDEOLOGICAL OMPETITION BETWEEN USSR AND THE WEST, AND NOTED BENEFITS OF FRG, NATO AND EC MEMBERSHIP. GERMANS FOUND SOVIETS SOMEWHAT MORE RESPONSIVE THAN PREVIOUSLY ON PARTICIPATION IN WORLD ECONOMIC ISSUES. ON MIDDLE EAST, PODGORNY SAID USSR DOES NOT OBJECT TO PARTIAL STEPS IN PRINCIPLE, BUT THINKS THEY TAKE TOO LONG AND FEARS THAT SYRIA AND EGYPT WILL BECOME IMPATIENT. FRG TURNED DOWN SOVIET PLEA FOR PLO OFFICE IN BONN ON GROUND THAT PLO DOES NOT RECOGNIZE ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST. GERMANS WERE STRUCK BY HOW SURPRISINGLY ANIMATED GROMYKO WAS ON ZIONISM AS RACISM AND BY ANTI-SEMITIC TONE OF HIS REMARKS. GERMANS LIKED THE OPPORTUNITY THEY HAD TO ENUNCIATE SOME "GENERAL TRUTHS," AND BELIEVE SOVIETS SATISFIED WITH FRG REITERATION OF LONG-TERM COMMITMENT TO DETENTE. NEITHER SIDE COMPRISED ON SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. WE SUSPECT SOVIETS MADE POINTS THEY THOUGHT NEEDED MAKING DURING GISCARD VISIT, AND SAW NO NEED TO REPEAT THEM AGAIN WITH AN "ARCHITECT OF DETENTE" LIKE SCHEEL; GERMANS MET THEM HALFWAY. END SUMMARY.

2. AT QUADRIPARTITE AND POL CONSELORS' MEETINGS NOVEMBER 14, FRG REPRESENTATIVES GAVE ACCOUNTS OF SCHEEL/GENSCHER VISIT WHICH CONFIRM EMBASSY BONN'S IMPRESSION OF RESULTS, BUT ALSO ADD SOME INTERESTING DETAILS.

3. OVERALL, GERMANS SAID THEY CONSIDERED VISIT A SUCCESS. THERE HAD BEEN NO PARTICULAR AIMS OR BUSINESS WHICH HAD TO BE COMPLETED, AND NO DECLARATION TO BE SIGNED, SO THAT MODEST SUCCESS WAS ALL THAT HAD BEEN HOPED FOR, AND IT HAD BEEN ACHIEVED. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN BILATERAL RELATIONS, SOVIETS WERE FRIENDLY THROUGHOUT, EVEN WHERE DELICATE ISSUES WERE BEING DISCUSSED, AND MAINTAINED NON-CONTROVERSIAL POSTURE IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE. FOR EXAMPLE, GROMYKO WAS QUITE RELAXED AND EVEN SMILED AND JOKED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS -- AN NEW EXPERIENCE FOR THE GERMANS.

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4. SCHEEL-BREZHNEV MEETING NOVEMBER 11 LASTED ONE AND HALF HOURS, AND BREZHNEV WAS IN FINE FETTLE AND IN MUCH BETTER SHAPE THAN HE HAD BEEN DURING DISCUSSIONS WITH SCHMIDT AT HELSINKI. HE TOLD SCHEEL "CONFIDENTIALLY" THAT 25TH CPSU CONGRESS IN FEBRUARY WILL CONFIRM SOVIET DETENTE POLICY TOWARD WESTERN EUROPE. RE THE FGR, HE SAID THE POLITBURO FREQUENTLY DISCUSSES SOVIET-FRG RELATIONS, AND NO ONE EVER EVEN THINKS OF "BREAKING THEM OFF". AT THE SAME TIME, HE ASKED HOW LONG THE FRG WOULD CONTINUE TO ALLOW

DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE SOVIETS, AND EXPECIALLY AGAINST SOVIET DIPLOMATIC ESTABLISHMENTS, IN THE FRG.

5. THERE WERE TWO SESSIONS, OF ONE AND HALF AND THREE HOURS, WITH PODGORNYY. PODGORNYY SAID THE SOVIETS WERE VERY OCCUPIED PREPARING FOR THE 25TH CONGRESS, AND THAT THE AGENDA OF THE CONGRESS WOULD INCLUDE (A) FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY; (B) "FURTHER EMPHASIS ON STABILIZATION OF THE INTERNAL SITUATION;" AND (C) CONFIRMATION THAT CURRENT FOREIGN POLICY LINE WILL CONTINUE. ON SUBSTANCE, PODGORNYY SAID THE SOVIETS CONSIDER THEIR WESTPOLITIK TO HAVE BEEN VERY SUCCESSFUL, AND MENTIONED THE RECENT GISCARD VISIT AND THE UPCOMING LEONE VISIT IN CONFIRMATION OF THIS. RELATIONS WITH THE U.S., PODGORNYY SAID, WERE GOOD, BUT COULD BE IMPROVED. SALT II IS PRESENTLY BEING DISCUSSED WITH US AND SOVIETS ARE OPTIMISTIC REGARDING THEIR DEVELOPING RELATIONSHIP WITH WASHINGTON.

6. IN THE SEPARATE GENSCHER/GROMYKO MEETING, GROMYKO STRESSED THE LONG-TERM CHARACTER OF SOVIET-FRG RELATIONS. GERMANS FELT THAT IN GENERAL GROMYKO WAS SOMEWHAT DEFENSIVE, BUT ALSO NOT VERY VIGOROUS IN CONTESTING POINTS. INTERESTINGLY, THEY FOUND THAT GROMYKO--REPUTED TO HAVE A PHENOMENAL MEMORY AND A GREAT GRASP OF DETAIL--DID NOT SEEM TO BE VERY WELL INFORMED REGARDING GERMAN ISSUES.

7. ON BILATERAL AND BERLIN PROBLEMS, THERE WAS SOME "CLARIFICATION" OF REMAINING ISSUES IN THE THREE AGREEMENTS UNDER NEGOTIATION IN GROMYKO-GENSCHER MEETING, BUT NOT TO THE POINT WHERE THEY ARE READY FOR SIGNATURE. GENSCHER COMPLAINED ABOUT THE CANCELLATION OF THE SOVIET MAYORS' VISIT ON THE GROUND THAT SOVIET INJECTION OF POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS INTO BERLIN DISCUSSIONS ADDS TO PUBLIC ANXIETY, AND IN THIS CASE HAD PROVOKED A NEGATIVE PUBLIC REACTION. HE ALSO COMPLAINED ABOUT SOVIET

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INTERVENTION IN THE QUESTION OF HOW RUSSIAN TRANSLATION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC'S NAME APPEARS IN UN DOCUMENTS, WHICH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC CONSIDERS A MATTER FOR IT TO DECIDE. BASING HIMSELF ON NEWSPAPER REPORTS, GROMYKO, IN HIS TURN, COMPLAINED ABOUT THE PROSPECT OF A BUDESTAG MEETING IN WEST BERLIN, SAYING THIS KIND OF THING WAS BAD FOR RELATIONS. HE ALSO RAISED THE MATTER OF ANTI-SOVIET DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE FRG. THE GERMANS REBUTTED RECENT SOVIET STATEMENTS THAT FRG INTEREST IN BERLIN IS NOT IN CONFORMITY WITH DETENTE, AND SAID THEY THOUGHT FRG DEFENSE OF ITS LEGITIMATE INTERESTS, IN BERLIN, THROUGH NATO AND EC MEMBERSHIP, AND IN SUPPORT OF GERMAN REUNIFICATION OVER THE LONG-TERM, IS ENTIRELY IN CONFORMITY WITH DETENTE. GROMYKO DID NOT RESPOND TO THIS POINT.

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6797

INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

CINCEUR

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USNATO 3604

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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8. PRAVDA HAD OMITTED TWO PASSAGES IN SCHEEL TOAST, ON FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND ON THE VALUE OF EC ECONOMIC STRENGTH FOR DETNETE, AND PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS CONFIRMED THAT SOVIETS SENSITIVE ON POST-HELSINKI ISSUES. SCHEEL AND GENSCHER BOTH MENTIONED COMPETITION IN IDEAS, WHILE ASSURING THE SOVIETS THEY KNEW THAT THE USSR AND FRG HAD IFFERENT SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS, AND THAT IT WAS NOT A PURPOSE OF DETENTE TO CHANGE THE SOVIET SYSTEM. SOVIETS DID NOT REACT. GENSCHER ASKED GROMYKO ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP OF

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DETENTE AND CLASS STRUGGLE, AND GROMYKO RESPONDED THAT CLASS STRUGGLE WAS A PRODUCT OF INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DID NOT IMPLY INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. HE ALSO REITERATED THAT THE SOVIETS WERE FOR CSCE IMPLEMENTATION, INSISTING THAT SOVIET LAWS WERE NOT IN CONFLICT WITH FINAL ACT PROVISIONS.

9. ON THE OTHER HAND, GERMANS FOUND GROMYKO SURPRISINGLY INTERESTED IN SOLUTION OF WORLD ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEVELOPED AND UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES. (THIS CONTRASTS TO SOVIET REFUSAL TO TALK ABOUT THIS ISSUE DURING WILSON VISIT IN FEBRUARY.) GENSCHER APPEALED FOR SOVIET COOPERATION IN DISCUSSIONS ON AID TO THE THIRD WORLD; GROMYKO HAD REPLIED THAT THE SOVIETS, OF COURSE, VIEWED THINGS DIFFERENTLY, BUT WERE WILLING TO DISCUSS THESE ISSUES.

10. THERE WAS QUITE EXTENSIVE DISCUSSION OF THE MIDDLE EAST, WITH SOVIET TAKING THE INITIATIVE. PODGORNYY SAID THE SOVIETS WERE NOT OPPOSED TO PARTIAL STEPS IN PRINCIPLE, BUT BELIEVED THEY TOOK TOO LONG, AND FEARED SYRIA AND EGYPT WOULD BECOME IMPATIENT IN THE PROCESS AND THAT THIS MIGHT LEAD TO ARMED CONFLICT. IN HIS MEETING WITH GROMYKO, GENSCHER HAD RAISED THE ZIONISM RESOLUTION AND BOTH HE AND SCHEEL HAD STRONGLY ASSERTED FRG OBJECTIONS TO AN EQUATION OF ZIONISM AND RACISM. GROMYKO REACTED TEPIDLY TO THE SPECIFIC POINT ABOUT THE ZIONISM RESOLUTION, NOTING ONLY THAT THE SOVIETS HAD NOT INTRODUCED IT. HOWEVER, REFERRING BACK TO HERZL, GROMYKO STATED WITH SOME ANIMATION THAT ZIONISM HAS ALWAYS WHAT THEY WISH TO DOMINATE THE WORLD AND FEEL THEY ARE A CHOSEN PEOPLE AND BETTER THAN ANYONE ELSE. PODGORNYY ASKED SCHEEL TO PERMIT OPENING OF A PLO OFFICE IN BONN. GENSCHER RESPONDED THAT THE FRG CANNOT DO SO AS LONG AS THE PLO DOES NOT ADMIT ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST, AND THAT THE FRG'S POSITION ON THE MATTER WAS DETERMINED BY THIS CONSIDERATION.

SOVIETS SUSPENDED RELATIONS TO PREPARE AMIN'S EXPULSIONS ORDER, AND GROMYKO HAD REPLIED THAT THEY HAD DONE IT OF THEIR OWN VOLITION, BECAUSE A GREAT POWER CANNOT ALLOW ITSELF TO BE INSULTED.

12. IN SUM, GERMAN ASSESSMENT WAS THAT BOTH SIDES WERE PLEASED WITH VISIT. FRG HAD OPPORTUNITY TO PUT FORTH WHAT IT CONSIDERED

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SOME "GENERAL TRUTHS," AND WAS GLAD IN RETROSPECT THAT IT HAD TAKEN CARE NOT TO RAISE HIGH PUBLIC HOPES FOR PROGRESS ON BERLIN. THEY FELT SOVIETS CAME AWAY MOST SATISFIED WITH FRG REITERATION OF LONG-

TERM COMMITMENT TO DETENTE. AT THE SAME TIME, THERE WAS NO
COMPROMISE BY EITHER SIDE ON OUTSTANDING SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES.

13. COMMENT: SOVIETS MADE THE POINTS THEY NEEDED TO MAKE ABOUT
POST-CSCE EUROPE AND RELATIONS WITH WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES DURING
GISCARD VISIT, AND HAD NOT INCENTIVE TO MAKE THEM AGAIN WITH SCHEEL,
ONE OF THE "ARCHITECTS OF DETENTE." STRUCTURE OF VISIT--NO
DOCUMENTS, NO AGREEMENTS REQUIRED--ALSO MADE CONTROVERSY
UNNECESSARY, AS WILL ALSO BE THE CASE WITH LEONE VISIT NEXT WEEK.
FINALLY, GERMANS MET THEM AT LEAST HALFWAY. THE RESULT WAS A MODEST
SUCCESS, PERFECTLY NEUTRAL IN ITS POLICY EFFECTS.
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